1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

by dash line). David is the blood relative of six members of the settlement (indicated by dot-dash line). Mary, the sister of Miller's deceased wife, is related by blood to seven individuals (indicated by dotted line). Christina, David's present wife, and her sister Margaret make up the fifth blood group (indicated by a line composed of dashes interspersed with two dots). Unconnected with these five blood groups are Rose, wife of John, and Lulu, the wife of Edwin.

Now it is certainly possible that all the members of this settlement are more or less distant blood relatives. According to the best estimates, the total Carib population of the Barama country does not exceed six hundred souls. The local traditions of the Indians state that their ancestors migrated into the Barama country from a former home around the head of the Corentyne River. Less than a hundred years ago, Schomburgk found a few Akawai villages on the Barama, apparently representatives of the tribe which formerly occupied the whole region and which at that time was in the process of being eliminated.[1] Even today the Barama Caribs express a feeling of antagonism toward the Akawais as a group, perhaps a survival of the rivalry between the two groups consequent upon the Carib usurpation of the area. On the basis of this evidence it would seem improbable that the ancestors of the present Caribs were in the Barama area much before two hundred years ago. And it would be conceivable that in some distant way most of the present living individuals are related by blood. However, the isolation of the settlements and the difficulties of travel in the region have in many cases erased the memory of such connections from the minds of the people, if in fact such connections actually existed. The important fact from the sociological point of view is that in many instances, as here at Sawari, individuals are not consciously aware of actual blood relationship with certain other individuals.

Reference to the preceding section will acquaint the reader with the kinship terminology. In checking this material I found that men applied the term pamuko (male cross cousin) not only to men who were known to be their cross cousins, but also to all men of the speaker's generation who were not known to be parallel cousins, men, that is, who were not considered actual blood rela-

[1] Schomburgk, 1922-23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, Chap. XI.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

773 headman therefore plugged his anus with mud. The Indians be-
539 lieve to this day that the sloth has no anus.

14. TRADITION CONCERNING ANTECEDENTS OF THE BARAMA CARIBS

173 A group of people were living a long time ago in the Cuyuni head, and for some reason were fighting among themselves continuously, killing people at an astonishing rate. Finally a mother and daughter and a father and son escaped, the males coming first, and made their way north to the Barama head. Here they inter-married, and from the head of the river the Caribs spread down toward the mouth.

This theory of origin is supposed to be confirmed by the fact that David (informant) had a relative, his father's brother-in-law, who had journeyed to the Cuyuni head and there seen what he considered miraculous evidence of that great historic period of fighting: tree stumps of rock, and mountains which were white as cotton. When asked in what way these phenomena confirmed the theory, David replied that they were so unusual that they showed something important had happened there.

174 (The spread of the Caribs from the Barama head rather than vice versa seems to agree with their present distribution, their absence below the mouth of the river and along the coast, and also with Schomburck's observations, that in 1842 the Caribs occupied the upper part of the river and the Akawais the lower.)[1]

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

162 THE data concerning the physical anthropology of the Barama
361 Caribs were collected as impartially as possible, with the object of presenting a fair description of the bodily features of the Indian population as it exists at the present time. According to the best estimates the total adult Carib population of the Barama numbers between 275 and 300 individuals. It was not without considerable difficulty that 206 subjects (104 males, 102 females) were finally measured, a difficulty which was due not to the personal objections of the subjects, which were easily overcome, but to the fact that the population is distributed among thirty-three settlements

[1] See Schomburgk, 1922–23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, Chap. 6, Vol. II, Chap. 2.

NOTES

175 162 114 [173] [1]It is improbable that the exact history of the current Upper Barama River Carib population can be established. Schomburgk, during his surveying of the North West District in the 1840's, found Akawai as well as Carib settlements on the Barama River (1848:359-363). Gillin, of course, found only Carib settlements in 1932-33 and suggests that the Caribs usurped the Akawai position in the area. Gillin records a local tradition that the first Carib ancestors migrated from around the head of the Corentyne River to the Barama River and concludes that the ancestors of the Carib population had been in the area only for about 200 years (1936:113).

162 166 [173] During the 1970-71 field work, it was discovered that several male Carib ancestors with significant numbers of offspring in the current population had migrated into the Upper Barama River area from the Pomeroon River area. Some had done this to escape the widespread influenza epidemic after World War I. Also, at least some Caribs currently maintain that according to tradition, the first ancestors to populate the Upper Barama River area came either from Venezuela or the Cuyuni River area. In any case, the question of these origins does not pertain to the analysis being developed.

000 [551] [2]Carib nicknames remain in use (Gillin 1936:77-78). Individuals guard the privacy of these names to different degrees. Western names are also used. In addition to a chosen first name, the father's first name is usually taken as a last name. Thus Manuel Jacob's son is called Francis Manuel.

[103] [3]In addition to nine obvious Carib settlements in the Upper Barama River area, Gillin includes the location of "John's Settlement" and "Old World" with no indication of their nature (1936:2). Their names highly suggest mining camps of some sort.

Also, Gillin reports the abandonment of two settlements, Massevah (same as Maswakai) and Korotoko (1936:125,135), which were subsequently reinhabited. In consideration of all of these factors, the estimated figure of ten inhabited settlements appears to be appropriate.

[103] [4]The Upper Barama River Caribs explain that the Carib name for this settlement is Sevalipialu and that the abbreviation Sawari is used with non-Carib people. The shorter name, consistent with Gillin's usage, is maintained here.

[5]Gillin later revises this estimated range to seven to seventy individuals (1936:98), but the first more conservative estimate of settlement size appears to be more appropriate for the Carib settlements in the Upper Barama River area.

[361] [103] [197] [6]It must be pointed out that the Carib people recognize a distinction between the group of settlements in the upper section and the lower section of the Upper Barama River. They refer to the former as Barama Top Side and the latter as Barama Bottom Side and claim